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## SUMMARY

The subject of this study is the office of the court chaplain in the nineteenth century. The main focus is on its development. What changes did the office of the court chaplain see, and how did these changes arise? In the last few years, the subject of religion at the court has gained more attention of the historiography. In recent studies, the court chaplaincy is also discussed, however, the research is usually confined to the early modern period. In Dutch historiography, occasional articles and books about court chaplains were published, but so far no research has been conducted into the court chaplaincy in the nineteenth century, when the Netherlands had become a monarchy. This research on court chaplains as officially appointed courtiers in the service of king William I, William II, and William III uses different lines of approach: that of the court, the church, the courtiers' perception, the court chaplains' private lives, and that of literature.

The nineteenth century, which is the main topic of this research, was preceded by two centuries of tradition. From 1590 to 1747 there was a 'Court of Orange' in The Hague, which was paralleled by a 'Court of Nassau' in the city of Leeuwarden. Walloon Reformed ministers were present at the Hague court. Some of them were formally appointed court chaplains, like Johannes Wtenbogaert (1557-1644) – who played an important role in the conflict between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants – whereas others, such as André Rivet (1596-1650) were appointed for the purpose of educating the scions of the Orange family. The English Stuart princesses had their own Anglican court chaplains and chapel.

The court life in Leeuwarden was on a lower level, but the place of religion was no less important there. Many Reformed gentlemen, like the Groningen professor Ubbo Emmius (1547-1625), and the Leeuwarden minister Gellius Boëtius (died 1672) visited the court frequently, but they were most probably not officially appointed to a post. Remarkably, several court chaplains – Frederik van Leenhof (1647-1712), Herman Alexander Roëll (1635-1718), and David Flud van Giffen (1635-1701) – were followers of Cocceius. With the presence of Princess Marie Louise (1688-1765) at the court, Pietist theologians started to exert their influence.

In 1747, the States-General made an appeal on the Frisian stadholder William Charles Henry Friso (1711-1751); he became hereditary stadholder of the stadholderless provinces, and obtained all posts from his Dutch family members. The prince established himself as Prince William IV in The Hague, together with his wife Princess Anne of Hanover (1709-1759). Their chaplain Samuel de la Douespe (1703-1751) moved with them, and so did a large part of the court. Princess Anne had her own chaplains, who were allied to the Anglican Episcopal St Mary's Church in Rotterdam.

Soon after the prince's death in 1751, court chaplain De la Douespe died, and Jean Royer (1705-1783) took over his office. This chaplain advised 'governess' Anne, and catechized both Princess Caroline (1743-1787) and Prince William V (1748-1806). Royer became a confidential advisor to Prince William V in various aspects. He was a passionate book collector, and his name is well-known by bibliophiles to this day. After Royer's decease, two court chaplains were appointed: Samuel Eschauzier (1741-1794), and Jean Isaac Guicherit (1737-1796), a son-in-law of the late chaplain De la Douespe. Guicherit maintained strong ties with the House of Orange, and shared in the indignities they suffered during the Dutch Patriot Revolt. He travelled with the family of Orange to Het Loo Palace and Het Valkhof Castle during their first exile, catechized Princess Louise (1770-1819), Prince William Frederick (1772-1843), and Prince Frederick (1774-1799). During their second exile in England, he corresponded with Louise.

During their exile, William Frederick and his family were closely involved with their Prussian in-laws and their chaplains. The court chaplains of this family were called Sack, and they exercised great influence on several members of the family of Orange. Eventually, Prince William Frederick ended up in the diocese of Fulda, which had been given to his father as compensation for the loss of posts and domains in the Republic. He ruled over it like a national patriarch, founded a Protestant church that was liberal and tolerant, and he himself stood at its head. Afterwards, he considered this period to have been a good experience. After Napoleon's defeat, the tide was turning; Prince William Frederick was able to return to the Netherlands via England, and in November 1813, he became

Sovereign of the Netherlands. His wife and children William, Frederick, and Marianne, and also his mother and sister Louise (both widowed) followed him.

Meanwhile, the Republic had experienced many changes: under the Batavian and French government, it had been transformed into a unitary state, and for a while, it had even been a monarchy. In 1798, during the Batavian government, the Batavian Republic had been reshaped; one indivisible Batavian Republic was created after the French model, with a Lower and Upper House as the legislative body. Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck (1761-1825) was appointed ambassador of the Batavian Republic in France. The French influence was considerable, and posed a growing threat: in 1799, Napoleon assumed absolute power, and for the Batavian Republic he wanted a Constitution that was less democratic. The government was unable to avoid Napoleon gaining influence. In 1804 Napoleon crowned himself emperor, and in 1805 he decided to install an authoritarian regime. The Republic would be headed by one person: Grand Pensionary Schimmelpenninck, the Republic's 'President'. He established himself in Huis ten Bosch, enjoyed a court life, and managed to accomplish more than in previous years. In 1806, nevertheless, the Batavian rule ended, and Louis Napoleon (1778-1846) became king of Holland. He made an impression with his magnificent court life. Several court chaplains entered the service of the Roman Catholic monarch, and all held high ranks.

King Louis was actively engaged in the 'Management' of the churches. J D Janssen (1775-1848) used to be clerk at the National Education Committee under the government of Schimmelpenninck – a committee responsible for church services. He was now appointed head of this committee. However, the church reorganization was delayed during the imperial government. In 1810, the country was annexed by the French empire. The emperor pursued church unification in the entire empire. This posed a threat to the church's freedom, foundations, and organization.

After Napoleon's defeat, from 1813 to 1815, a period of restoration and reform began. Prince William Frederick took the oath of allegiance to the Constitution in the New Church of Amsterdam on 30<sup>th</sup> March 1814. The Sovereign was actively engaged in the administration of the religions, continued the church politics of Louis Napoleon, and relied on the same official: Mr Janssen. The Dutch Reformed Church, which had formerly enjoyed privileges, received the same position as all other churches now. Meanwhile, the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) adopted a number of resolutions to restore the balance of power within Europe: the Northern and Southern Netherlands were to become one kingdom under William I, thus creating a solid buffer state to keep France at bay. Both parts of the kingdom had to be transformed into one 'union intime et complète'. The king's inauguration in Brussels took place on 21<sup>st</sup> September 1815. He pursued a powerful wealthy unitary state, and the development of one nation where he would reign as a Father of the Nation. For the sake of nation-building, the king also applied great influence on the churches.

It was laid down in the Constitution that the court's residence should alternate between The Hague and Brussels. Therefore, a royal household was set up in both cities. There was one remarkable distinction between the two courts: the king had no chaplains in Brussels. However, a Dutch Reformed church was founded, because the existing Protestant Eglise du Musée turned out to be too small for the royal family, courtiers, officials, and their families. Two chaplains were appointed to serve in the new Temple des Augustins: Hermannus Pauw (1770-1856) and Dirk Rijke (1789-1830). The church council consisted for the larger part of individuals connected with the court. Pauw and Rijke often found the family of Orange among their audience.

King William I appointed Jacques George Chantepie de la Saussaye (1739-1817) court chaplain in The Hague. This way, he carried on a tradition of two centuries. De la Saussaye descended from an old Huguenot family, and formerly had been a minister in London and Rotterdam. He was a retired minister of the Walloon Church of The Hague, when he was appointed court chaplain. He was renowned for his good sermons. In 1816, this chaplain travelled to St Petersburg to perform the marriage of Prince William II and Grand Duchess Anna Pavlovna of Russia (1795-1865). This was his only achievement as a court chaplain. Until well into the twentieth century, important ministers among his descendants maintained relations with the royal family.

In 1817, De la Saussaye died, and was succeeded by the Walloon minister Daniel Delprat (1758-1841), who just like his predecessor belonged to a Huguenot family. Delprat had been a minister in Zutphen and Amsterdam before his arrival in The Hague in 1791. In 1798, Foreign Secretary Van der Goes (1751-1826) called him into his department; later on he was assigned the task

of translating and editing secret documents – a task for which he was officially appointed. Delprat also worked for king Louis Napoleon, and after the overthrow he took up his new position as Secret Secretary to the Sovereign. Delprat remained Chaplain to the King and Secret Secretary until his death. He also dealt with church politics, and was a member of the ‘Consulerende Commissie’ preparing the General Regulations of 1816, which dealt with the Reformed churches.

Delprat was charged with the religious education of Princess Marianne and the sons of William II. Consequently, he spent a lot of time in the family circle of William I and II. The solemn profession of faith, marking the completion of this education, caused the court chaplain a lot of work, but also a lot of satisfaction and the favour of the family of Orange. In 1830, Delprat performed the marriage of Princess Marianne and Prince Albert of Prussia (1809-1872). He maintained contact with her for a considerable time. Delprat was an intimate friend of King William I, which became particularly evident during the troubles accompanying his second marriage.

Not only did the king appoint Walloon court chaplains, but also Dutch Reformed chaplains. Wilhelm Leendert Krieger (1745-1822) was the first of them, and the Dutch Reformed Church felt very honoured by his appointment. The king used the appointment to emphasize the bond with ‘his’ church, which he wished to consider as an instrument for the unitary state. Court chaplain Krieger was a self-educated man, who had started his career as a comforter of the sick. Subsequently he had been a minister in ’s-Graveland, Zwolle, Nijmegen, and Utrecht. Since 1791, he had been a minister in The Hague. Krieger became president of the General Synod. Although he personally had objections to the General Regulations of 1816, which imposed central government on the church, he accepted them. This caused him to be suspected of heterodoxy; he was said to be blinded by favour with the court. Krieger enjoyed the people’s confidence, especially that of the orthodox community. His appointment was a strategic one: by doing so, the king gained the people’s commitment to his church politics. Not only did Krieger fill the Synod’s chairmanship, but he also carried out the regular duties of a minister, and he officiated at the rites of passage; he performed at the christening services of the princes William (Brussels, 1817), Alexander (The Hague, 1818), and Henry (Baarn, 1820).

After Krieger’s death in 1822, he was succeeded by Isaäc Johannes Dermout (1777-1867). Dermout belonged to a very Orangist family; his parents were acquainted with the family of Orange. After studying theology, he had been a minister in Zeist, Amersfoort, and Zutphen, whereupon he came to The Hague and remained there. Dermout was a pulpit orator, a man of his time, who shared the king’s belief in progress, and wanted the Christian church to be a general and tolerant one, preferably one that united the different denominations. Dermout took an active part in church politics; being Secretary to the Synod put him in a commanding position for decades. Just like Krieger, he was called court chaplain also at the Synod work. The entanglement of the court, church and king enabled Dermout to actively exercise great power.

Dermout officiated at several rites of passage. When he was a ‘court chaplain extraordinary’, he assisted Krieger at two christening services. Now he baptized Prince Ernst Casimir (Amsterdam, 1822), Princess Sophie (The Hague, 1824), and the four children of Prince Frederick. When Queen Wilhelmina died (1837), Dermout delivered a memorial sermon which was considered a master piece, and was translated into English, German and French. Dermout catechized Princess Sophie (the daughter of William II), and Princess Louise (the daughter of Prince Frederick). After Louise’s confirmation, she corresponded about personal matters with the court chaplain – as a princess at first, but later on as the queen of Norway and Sweden.

After the break-up with ‘Belgium’ in 1830, the king invited ministers – including his chaplains – to participate in court life. Consequently, Dermout had personal contacts with the family of Orange, more so than Krieger did. The correspondence of the royal family shows the chaplain’s contribution to the reconciliations between William I and William II. Dermout was generally respected, and was offered a professorship in Amsterdam. However, he declined the post. Court chaplain Delprat sometimes considered Dermout to be a rival; he was immensely popular, at the court as well as outside. At the second marriage of King William I Dermout expressed his objections to the Roman Catholic bride. At face value the king resigned himself, but after his abdication he carried out his plan. Court chaplain Delprat knew about this.

When King William II ascended the throne, he embarked on a different course. The unity of the Dutch Reformed Church had failed. William I persecuted the seceders, but William II had no intention of

doing that. He also allowed the Roman Catholics more liberties. The king's court was younger than before, and court life more dynamic. Often hundreds of guests were invited, and there was a lot of dancing.

Queen Anna Pavlovna had remained loyal to her Russian Orthodox beliefs, like all grand duchesses, and she had her own chapel, clergy and singers. They were under the authority of the tsar, who was responsible for the appointments. Anna Pavlovna employed six different chaplains in succession. We know very little about them. They participated in court life when suitable company was present, and otherwise remained in the background.

The king attended the usual services, as other members of the Orange family used to, but not as regular as his father did. Sometimes the Gothic hall of the palace served as a court chapel; court chaplain Dermout conducted a number of services there. At Easter time the king and his family took Holy Communion in one of the Hague churches.

After the Walloon court chaplain Delprat died in 1841, no new chaplain was appointed. Firstly due to the queen's religion, and secondly given the fact that only Princess Sophie and Princess Marie needed religious education, therefore leaving little to do for a court chaplain. Dermout was invited to teach catechism. This meant the king broke with the tradition of education by Walloon court chaplains – an indication of the court's nationalization.

In the years between 1841 and 1849, the role of the court chaplain became redundant. The king often stayed in Tilburg, where he remained in contact with Rev G D J Schotel (1807-1892), and his neighbour bishop Zwijsen (1794-1877). Zwijsen used this relationship for the benefit of the Roman Catholic Church; in return the king made use of Zwijsen's network. In the towns of Soest and Baarn, too, there were contacts with the local clergy. The Protestant ministers and Roman Catholic priests met in the Benevolence Committee, which was established by Anna Pavlovna. This was the means of communication between the court and the clergy. Here they were urged to pay due respect to the queen.

An issue of major importance was the king's sudden conversion from conservatism to liberalism in 1848. This was to have far-reaching consequences, but William II himself would not notice, for he died on 17 March 1849. Rev Gerrit Ruitenschild (1801-1877) conducted the memorial service. His sermon was criticized because it candidly extolled William II.

When Anna Pavlovna was a widow, she loved to stay at Soestdijk Palace, and she bought Buitenrust Palace in The Hague. She continued her court life on a limited scale. Her chaplain and singers were always close at hand to perform the Russian Orthodox rites. When she died, Ruitenschild – who had now become a Chaplain to the Court – performed the service. He praised her benevolence. The funeral rites of the Russian Orthodox Church had been carried out before the ceremony. This church owes its existence in the Netherlands to Anna Pavlovna.

King William III and Queen Sophie (1818-1877) set up a court that was more restrained. They held receptions and balls, but less in number, and less extravagant than William II did. They invited more artists and scholars than their predecessors, and this gave their court a certain distinction. Queen Sophie had been raised at the court of Württemberg, where her father had deeply involved her in political and social matters. She possessed a wide intellectual interest, and corresponded with numerous European people of great importance. William III, on the other hand, had a liking for the country life; these differences between husband and wife caused high tension.

The king was a regular churchgoer; like his grandfather, he had habits that he would not break. The queen on the other hand was a religious seeker. She liked listening to foreign ministers who visited the court capital, such as missionary Karl Gützlaff (1803-1851), Baptist minister Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1843-1892), and 'revivalist' Pearsall Smith (1827-1898). She was on friendly terms with various people who counted themselves among the revival movement of the Réveil, and she maintained personal – sometimes even intimate – relations with the ministers J H Gunning Jnr (1829-1905), J J van Oosterzee (1817-1882), and N Beets (1814-1903), whom she held in high esteem. Her appreciation of Van Oosterzee and Beets was actually something she and her husband had in common.

Initially, the office of the court chaplain was given low priority by King William III. Rev Ruitenschild carried out various services for the royal family without being formally appointed. When the pope wanted to restore the episcopal hierarchy in the Netherlands in 1853 – which the 1848

Constitution allowed for – the attempt was met with howls of protest, called the April Movement. The king was compelled to boost his Protestant image, and that's why he appointed two court chaplains: the Walloon minister Philippe Boucher (1811-1885) became court chaplain, and Ruitenschild was officially appointed. This brought the court clergy back in line with that under King William I.

Ruitenschild, who had a doctorate degree, came from a bourgeois family, and had been a minister in Voorhout and Zutphen. Boucher was a Walloon minister with evangelical tendencies, who attracted a good crowd. He started his theological career as an evangelist. Prior to that, he had been a poet of some distinction. Boucher actively presented himself using his title 'Chapelain de Sa Majesté', both in personal announcements, and in his books and letters. His post did not amount to anything much with respect to its content; he was only asked to participate in court life. The court chaplains had their own place there: all officials of the royal household were included in the invitation lists. They were, however, not invited to balls, as this did not suit the dignity of their position.

In 1858, Boucher returned to France, whereupon the king appointed Pierre Jean Jacques Mounier (1801-1889) of the Walloon Church of Amsterdam. He was one of the prominent men of Amsterdam who had presented the king with a petition at the time of the April Movement. Mounier had a doctorate in theology, and descended from an old Huguenot family that was related to the families of Delprat and Chantepie de la Saussaye. He had been a minister in the cities of Leeuwarden and Antwerp. Mounier did not perform any duties at the court, however, occasionally participated in court life.

Ruitenschild was the only one to think of his post as a difficult one: he had to catechize the crown prince. The reason this was not easy, was the fact that the king and queen disagreed on the subject. Ruitenschild was not able to cope with Queen Sophie's manipulations. He also received criticism on the content of his education; in the mid-nineteenth century there was a lack of consensus about the contents or theological views. The court chaplain was characterized as a nobody, and his education and performance as mealy-mouthed. Both Prince William and Prince Alexander were confirmed by this chaplain, after which they had no further contact.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Netherlands had become a divided nation. A liberal state, it allowed underprivileged groups to emancipate, and forces had been unchained that could seriously damage the state. The court constituted the symbolic heart of the nation, and King William III intended to set a good Christian example. He found a second wife in Emma van Waldeck-Pyrmont (1858-1934), who was forty years younger. The king immediately attended to the issue of his court chaplains; he filled the vacancy that had arisen as a result of Ruitenschild's death by appointing Rev Cornelis Elisa van Koetsveld (1807-1893). He accepted the resignation of chaplain Mounier, and appointed the Walloon minister Emile Bourlier (1845-1911) to fill the post. These court chaplains were invited to conduct the services in the court chapel at Het Loo Palace. Before and after the services they were to be found in the family circle, which enabled them to maintain personal contacts. Van Koetsveld was repeatedly summoned to the king's presence, and the queen asked his advice on the education of Princess Wilhelmina.

Van Koetsveld had been a minister in Westmaas, Berkel en Rodenrijs, and Schoonhoven. When he was appointed court chaplain, he had been a minister in The Hague for almost thirty years. Theologically speaking, he occupied the middle ground. He had made his name in the literary and social fields. He had a strong personality, and an individual voice. Emile Bourlier was not as well-known as Van Koetsveld. He had only been in the Netherlands for two years; earlier he had been a minister in Cambrai and Walincourt-Nord. He was particularly concerned with the Walloon Church and its history. He was generally considered more orthodox than Van Koetsveld. Both court chaplains shared in the favour of the king. At the time of the 'Doleantie' (a prominent schism in the Dutch Reformed Church), the court appeared to have a preference to Bourlier, which enabled them to stay aloof from the vicissitudes of the Reformed Church.

Van Koetsveld baptized Princess Wilhelmina, and dedicated a children's Bible to her. He dedicated a theological work about women in the Bible to Queen Emma. He considered it his duty to attend to Prince Alexander, who was a source of great concern to everyone because of his secluded life, and he tried to revive and admonish him through visits and letters. Over a twelve year time span, Van Koetsveld stood at the graves of five members of the House of Orange Nassau: Prince Henry, Prince William, Prince Alexander, and Prince Frederick, followed by King William III in 1890. The

sermons he held at these ceremonies – the last one in particular – were appreciated by friend and foe.

From 1878 to 1890, the court life took place mainly around Het Loo Palace, and the local ministers of the Reformed Church played a part in it, too. Their presence at court was more frequent than it had been at former courts. When the king became poorly, the queen decided that services should be held in the court chapel, conducted by guest ministers, and ministers of Apeldoorn. She also involved the members of the Apeldoorn congregation, who could attend the service by means of admission tickets.

Not only the successive kings and their families had an interest in the local congregations and ministers in various places in the Netherlands, but so did other members of the royal family. Prince Frederick and his wife Princess Louise resided in The Hague, and during the summer they stayed in Wassenaar. They were involved in the Reformed Church there, and had contacts with its ministers. When the Deutsche Evangelische Gemeinde was established in The Hague, Princess Louise showed a preference for this church. This turned out to be a divisive issue within the royal family. The Princess maintained friendly relations with the minister of this congregation, Rev T J R Kögel (1829-1896). He taught her daughter Marie German literature.

At the time of her divorce, Princess Marianne established herself in Voorburg. She liked to surround herself with ministers of the orthodox reformed mindset, more than any other member of the Orange family. She avoided ministers who advocated a Christianity beyond religious division, such as the Voorburg minister D T F Patijn (1807-1862). However, this may have been based on other issues besides theological differences.

Prince Henry had a career in the navy. He was not lacking church and religion on his travels, and when he was ashore, he also showed commitment to the church. In Luxembourg, where he was stadholder on behalf of his brother William III, he and his wife Amalia played an important part in the establishment of a Protestant church. The court chaplains had little to do with the members of the Orange family who did not belong to the throne, apart from performing the rites of passage. Princess Marianne was the one notable exception, for she received chaplain Van Koetsveld at her house.

In conclusion we can say that the office of the court chaplain experienced a remarkable development during the nineteenth century. This development is distinguished into three stages. During the first stage from 1815 to 1840, it had a strong political emphasis. The office served as an instrument for the unitary state, to which the church politics of King William I had to contribute. The court chaplains were President of the Synod, and Secretary to the Synod, positions enabling them to exercise power. They were actually able to make a *career* for themselves. After King William I abdicated, the office of the court chaplain became redundant. The Netherlands were in a political and social period of transition.

The second stage was heralded by the April Movement. It caused King William III to feel or see the need to present himself as a Protestant monarch. By the end of March 1853, he appointed two court chaplains, mainly to reassure the people. The Reformed court chaplain had served in an informal way; strictly speaking his appointment was not necessary for his functioning. The Walloon chaplain did not have any duties to perform. This second stage was characterized by Protestant ostentation. The main task of the court chaplains was to take part in court life, in such a way that they were visibly present as representatives of the Protestant Church at the court. In this period, the court chaplaincy was largely a noble *task*.

A third stage can be recognized in the period from 1878 to 1890, during the second marriage of King William III. The office of the court chaplain during this period can be characterized as personal, introspective, and focussing on preaching. There was no longer any need for Protestant ostentation as a purpose in itself. Court chaplains Bourlier and Van Koetsveld were invited to preach at Het Loo Palace, and furthermore they had personal relations with the king and queen. The nature of their task was mainly pious.

*Vertaling: Mieke Prins*